[274] *Aiseni*, *ememijŭg eng-ejŭ en-*Kidongo, *ene ene en-o-*gwesi kenya.

Kuba olchikowua, eje: "*Kimise'ng-ejŭjŭ en-*Aiseni!" Ore *gi aiseni*, *enijŭg eng-ejŭ* nabo.

[130] Ore *ge ejŭg nainyeitia kidongony eng-ejŭ*, nabo *ollgoro* 'a-gimugat. *E-ne-wejŭ*, *entom ol-emeni olaitore e-ligeriyŭsi*.

Aroki kwa nabo *el-ngony eng-ejŭ* 'ligeriyŭ kwanik, nabo *ainagire*, *nenijŭwaki ol-emeni kwa-ejŭ nenijŭkye nedinge*.

Kitoloa ol-nedigani kwa-Masaiwa *aitwichiki ol-emeni ne-gimugata*, *ene kwa*, *kwa ndiek el-gwesi kenya*, *nabo*.

Instance, to the *Aiseni* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kidongo* age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aiseni* age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of them, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (*of his own age*) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

[275] [131] "*E-gilalia*", *ene 'a-gejŭ*, *ne kedia*.

Enyor il-Masaiwa 'a-gilalia nedeng'; nedinenyenyekye 'a-gilalia ne-tilili[2]. *Kwa 'a-gilalia gilicia lang'ata enyo enana 'l-kidgenak*.

[132] *Ilili e-mumi kenya eje*:

"*Enimpata ne-gilalia nedee el-kaghinenyo o'l-kiu*."

Eje, *kwa e-kwa el-kaa ne-*

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each one is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

"One *can remember a man's kraal*."

They mean by this that if a man

[276] [133] [134] * This note is a guess.
* The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.
* Ankermann (*Die Kunst der Afrikaner*, vol. i, p. 114) writes with regard to the Ibibio and other Bantu tribes: "The poor savages . . . pay almost divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child." Kaufmann (*Südafrikaner*, p. 100) adds that on the death of a cow a Ibibio goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

ginálig enáre, pe ormonot, enáre kumok, ainálipuk ol-lon, enee ayiankídíare, enáre 'e-ngare, enáre ol-kumóo le-tuwa-k'ínálig.

Ore en-dee en-'e-gíláre naa 'e-gíjíl; meenye Il-Maasai 'e-gíjíl, enee sinje en-dee en-'e-gíláre.

Ore ilkíl lee mooy eng-ai nálo, enyore 'ilpurtuyuk enáníkí 'e-gíjíl Il-kíláni pe ekuna enimí eng-ái.

Ene, lee ker ol-mormoi ol-nyíni le-náre, nalígoro ol-nyíni 'e-gíjíl enáíjo, naa lee ekí ol-mormoi 'e-gíjíl elínálgíre ol-nyíni, enemíkíi ore.

Ore ol lee tuwua Il-Maasaa 'l-nalígoti, gí' ekíre nalíngo e-náre, nalíngo 'e-gíjíl ilínálíngo.

Ene, lee enúnyuníye 'l-mooraa le-'e-jore, pe ngílalá 'l-nalaníkíre, nalalíkíi, elínálgíre enáre eng-ai e-kíla ongokúnyore 'e-gíjíl enaanyuni.

Ene, lee ainíari, enáníkíai 'enínáta le-gíjíl.

Ene, lee enaíjoki ol-nalígoni 'e-gíjíl, enemúnyá e-naíjoka, eéj: "Ol-murúkuai ilóg enaíjoka 'e-gíláre.'

Ene, lee ele ol-nalígoni eéj, pe ekíá ol-ekuni ilínálíkíre eng-

low a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich.

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.

Whenever there is a drought, the women folden grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God.

If a warrior hears a boy on the growing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign.

Whenever thunder occurs, from a cold, and it is desired to pacify those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them.

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle.

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Massai FL12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Levi Hadley,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 600,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika no given no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 182,700. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,600, the other Masai 47,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 82, 148.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Rift Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as Sidney remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[1] Hadley, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London, 1950, p. 80.
[2] *L. c.*, p. 107.
[3] On this occupation see the article of L. Fosbrooke, in *Africa*, 18, pp. 48 ss.

4-Scotland G-4.9 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Native policy necessary to deal with the Masai—Why the native policy is necessary—The tribal Constitution of the Masai—Tribal system of the pastoral section—Laikipia—Kisongo—The effect of the military organization—The uniformity—The Laibon—The Masai as a pastoral—Encroachment of the Masai—Masai organization—Organization—Councils of Elders—Laws—The Masai Empire—Divisions—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Laiko—Laikipia—Kisongo—Sub-divisions—Sections—Clans—Subsections—Tribal Elders—Appointment—Responsibilities—Religion—Duties of the Laibonok—Religious—Sacrifices—Ceremonies—Circumcision—Marriage—Dowry—Polygamy—Position of women—Inheritance—Adoption—Burial—Superstitions.

WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to consolidate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. Those policies, established and maintained for the most part by the native administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is evident in the majority of the native administered areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Provinces into useful agricultural labourers fit for continued work on European farms and available for duty as units of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognized by each tribe, produced within the reserves, a type of native as well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that recruitment had to be resorted to and that the work was unpopular, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the powers so exercised were obtained by the native authorities themselves, without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the few tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their subservience to antiquated tribal customs and traditions has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet successfully to alter and reconcile their views.

The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Nandi and Lumbwa and to the Suk and Turkana. In common with these other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a warrior class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Suk or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the administration, and a comparison with the Nandi and Lumbwa, Masai and Suk, discloses a position decidedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though some of these former tribes has definitely

Employment of the Bantu.

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Bantu" who are of the ages at which the numbers of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as hands on the farms of sympathetic European employers who are willing to pay a high wage for a maximum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any unorganised labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and S.A.R., while members of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of unmitigated conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existence as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have continued to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. The manner of existence is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Basuto as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Bantu" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

More agricultural experts needed.

It has been said that the Basuto Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hammond has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 12 per cent., or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish naturally; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Basuto. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempts to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, ox-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the adverse conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of bush blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the retention of scrub. The wealth of the Basuto, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in environs of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has long been possible in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilise their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

Council of Basuto.

Another aspect of the character of the Basuto "Bantu" which deserves consideration in the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Chiefs. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Basuto Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases of murder, since European administration was established, where the attitude of the "Bantu" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a message to expert here to quell it. Politically, the Basuto have remained loyal to the British Government since their first encounter in 1852 except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the Afrikaner cause and to increase their lands by the prospect of raiding expeditions against German territory. Their conduct throughout the trying period when the war is in their midst was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a contingent of the residents of the Basuto will show a not inconsiderable measure of indifference

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* The Basuto have supplied contingents on the following occasions:—

(1) Basuto Expedition, 1858, to Natal.
(2) Basuto Expedition, 1865, to Natal.
(3) Basuto Expedition, 1867, to Natal.
(4) Basuto Native Contingent, 1879, to Zululand.
(5) Basuto Native Contingent, 1880-81, to Basutoland.
(6) Basuto Native Contingent, 1881, to Basutoland.
(7) Basuto Native Contingent, 1899-1902, to Natal.
(8) Basuto Native Contingent, 1914-15, to German South West Africa.
(9) Basuto Native Contingent, 1914-18, to German East Africa.
(10) Basuto Native Contingent, 1916, to Natal.
(11) Basuto Native Contingent, 1916-17, to German East Africa.
(12) Basuto Native Contingent, 1916-18, to Natal.
(13) Basuto Native Contingent, 1917-18, to German East Africa.
(14) Basuto Native Contingent, 1918, to Natal.

Records of the work of these forces have on the whole been satisfactory, except in the instance of the Basuto Native Contingent, 1916-17, to German East Africa, which was disbanded after its arrival in that country, owing to the refusal of the men to do any work other than that which they had undertaken to perform when they enlisted.

The Highland of the Baghirmi inhabit the country to the south-east of the Kong Hills and the Chagra Basin. To this division belong the southern area of the Ulaim Chiefs, of whom Sagal is over the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,000 of whom 100 are Shuas, 30,000 head of cattle, 40,000 sheep and 300 donkeys.

The O Dala Lubarish came from Lubijan in 1913 and are sometimes known as the Dyeri Shuas. They have a considerable admixture of Kibeira blood in them. Their habitat generally the neighbourhood of Ko Dangra Dumi and their population is estimated at 700, including some 70 Shuas. They are said to possess 5,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 70 donkeys. Their Shuas are divided into two "Saria" named O Dumo and Gnam.

The Lagoniat are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Dyeri Dumi. Their population is estimated at 2,000 including 170 Shuas, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Shuas are divided into four "Saria" whose names are O Mukuma, O Gbijadi, O Kuhmosi and O Sagua.

The Highland of Lakichich inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Dagara Kangai, Kiladdero, Dumbaro, O el Tumuk and Kwaiko streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 5,000 of whom 500 are Shuas. These are divided into two "Saria," named O Kwoli and O Mujuadi. The live-stock possessions are said to number 80,000 head of cattle, 170,000 sheep and 600 donkeys.

In addition to the Shuas, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("O Dorobo") living in the Shuas Reserve. These numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Shuas, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lyoni Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on bow animals and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Shuas villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Donyo and Ol Donyo Sabbe, on the western bank of the Mau River, and in the Mau country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

There exists in the reserve a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wagalawa, called O Kwanza, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Shuas women.

To complicate the Shuas are a lethal, conservative, doubtful people, unfortunately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the vile body of murderers whose names they have not disapproved, but who are still sufficiently unscrupulous to evade sufficiently the criminals of their country. They have been encountered in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality and countless sheep. The outside means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and most prominent fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, cleverness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability. They have always evaded their D.C.'s duty and accounts to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard them, they are probably the most backward administrative native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate.

It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is [illegible] really the result of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a tick-borne disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is as yet no evidence to support this idea.

East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Bemi really fears, and it is here, the disease which comes to be the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not taken forward very readily to inoculation against the disease which was carried on during 1931, and it is evident that, in addition to the opposition which generally has been arising whenever of such an innovation, they are also not quick and flexible enough to get to the benefits of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In this connection it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the necessity which dipping regime puts upon them, and, when the inoculation has been carried out, it will follow that large herds of otherwise valuable grazing area will become available within their reserve for their own stock, thus tending to relieve the congestion which is now noticeable in those parts of the reserve which are overstocked. For the Bemi to be enabled to derive these benefits from inoculation, however, they must be willing to adopt the new practice which is now universally in force parts of the reserve which are overstocked.

(3) Fire and Bush Control

Fire and bush control have not given serious cause for anxiety in the Bemi Reserve. No outbreak was reported in 1930, 1931 and in 1932 only one, which is not to be very prevalent in the majority of the villages situated in the Bemi and Mwa districts. Accordingly, as last month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of thatch from the reserve.

The Bemi mortality from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and undoubtedly is caused a certain amount of loss, as [illegible] animals being in a weak state, are unable to move about sufficiently to obtain the necessary and adequate grazing, and as a consequence they may die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1931, to have practically died out.

(4) Trypanosomiasis

Trypanosomiasis has been reported in the Bemi Reserve for many years and the majority of which Bemi cattle are immune. It was also in the Northern Bemi Reserve from 1930 until the completion of the game in 1931, and several cattle deaths in both the Northern and Northern Reserve were reported between November, 1931, and January, 1932.

Anti-trypanosomal inoculation was carried out where practicable and a large number of Bemi cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the next few years inoculation for game is not necessary, but it becomes especially important early in 1933, and Bemi owners should arrange the calving, of which is also considered that about fifty per cent. of the annual increase necessary.

The Bemi have proved to be opposed to the inoculation of their cattle for [illegible] protection against rinderpest, on their grounds that inoculation should be attempted for the natural process of the survival of the fittest.

(5) Tsetse Fly

During the year application to Dr. [illegible], for the Director of Agriculture, [illegible] to the correspondence to Messrs. [illegible] and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the Senior Commissioner, North Rhodesia, on dates of [illegible] were sent along the route concerned, and the cattle sent with did not appear to be inoculated for the ordinary thing to. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had visited a number of "Mukwasas" and he stated that the fly was fairly numerous all over the Protectorate, but that as the cattle known it did not carry any cattle disease.

[illegible]

It is hoped, in time, as also the conditions in the Rural Reserves on the eastern side settle down to their normal level, and steps are now being taken to establish a Forest Veterinary Laboratory at Kumasi, which, it is hoped, will be able to carry out a more thorough investigation into the causes and prevention of the diseases to which Forest cattle are subject.

One of the difficulties which will have to be met, when the measures shall have attained, as regards the conservation of the Forest, their complete object, that is to say, the conservation of the Forest, will consist in the stock that will remain in the hands of the natives then and others, and their profits in Forest Economics, to discuss by taking a decision now for reasons rather than for providing immediately through investment or the application of veterinary science, it will require personal intervention to regulate the performance of a continuing experiment of cattle rearing, the Forest Authorities being the best and fittest to promote the business necessary to help themselves in the matter, and an attitude of positive assistance to all those, from good experience can be expected of them. In spite of such difficulties, however, it is possible to look for an improvement in the stock conditions of the reserve which will eventually enable not only certain limited areas to be utilized but will also render the Forest reserves free of a danger to the stock industry of the Protectorate.

A great deal can still be done in improving the rearing and grazing properties of the area. The reserve is on the whole fairly well watered with springs and streams, but many of these are practically useless for watering large herds of cattle owing to their inaccessibility or to the precipitous nature of the approaches to them. Streams frequently run down a hill side, in deeper into the ground within a few yards of the foot of the hill and small springs become so numerous that it is impossible for cattle to drink at them. The ground becomes swampy, the supply of water gradually decreases, and as these the spring becomes extinct.

A peculiar feature of the Rural Reserves is that the large rivers flow within a few miles of each other, frequently through dense bush or forest country where there is no grass suitable for cattle and their watchmen is thus naturally impaired. The Ouse River, Ouse Kumbi, Nyankai and other considerable streams take their rise together on the Ouse and flow through forest glades practically parallel to each other until they eventually meet and flow into Ashanti a long range. But the natural position of the reserve possesses this advantage: all the large rivers have their sources at a considerable altitude of from seven to nine thousand feet, and it would be an engineering feat of no great difficulty to construct canals from these rivers into the hill-lying grazing areas at the foot of the hills, some two thousand feet below. This project has been much under discussion and may be suggested to commercial, in connexion with other development schemes, when funds and staff are available. The dams which have been erected across certain of the streams have not proved the success it was hoped, as they are liable to damage by floods and are consequently requiring labour and expenditure for repairs; but the provision of pipe-lines and troughs seems to offer every prospect of a solution of the difficult problem of conducting the necessary grazing areas to the Lobi Plains capable of being utilized at all times of the year to carry as much stock as their acreage will bear. There is no doubt that when these water-works have been constructed any shortage of grazing for the amount of stock now in the reserve will have ceased to exist.

As a direct result of these facilities of disease and shortage of water and grazing the Rural have ascertained that the kind of cattle they possess is better suited to the conditions encountered in the reserve than any imported grade stock. To this matter also their conservation action has also play, but it is probable that, in the near, their contention is supported by fact. A good bull was recently purchased for use with the Forest cows in an attempt to procure a better and more marketable kind of stock, but the animal died before evidence had been obtained to prove or disprove the Rural contentions and the problem has still to be dealt with. The Rural cattle are underweight and in bad, and possess in their existing state no prospect of becoming of value to the outside trading. The principal sales to the Protectorate represented by a capital of £12,000 head of cattle, with an annual increase of about 30,000 head, at this market, and the most

9.Pastoralists G.4 (1936-1948) 1948 PL.12 Maasai PL.12
Kisamba

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responsible and return, each to its own area. But the Moilo section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1900 was one of great upheaval for the Tongoryiko Maasai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and scattergrams of many of the sections, together with the loss of the location which held these sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

1[illegible]

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Maasai of Tongoryiko lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

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For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	*Approx. date of circumcision*	*Important Events*
[illegible]	1778	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Sukut belonged to this age.
[illegible]	1793	Maasai penetrated to Uasgara.
[illegible]	1808	Conquered Wanyara from Adara.
[illegible]	1823	Took Ruhemma from the Kwavi. Kisoio (the original Waarabia) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engarobo.
[illegible]	1838	Captured Lolkesa, Molio and Kihaya from Kwavi. Drove Dairos from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
[illegible]	1853	One or two members of this age still alive Took Kuvaru from Dairos. Death of Sukut.
LAIYER	1868	Moilo Maasai rallied up by Mbatian for Lalkipiak war. Capture of Tolamai and Kitoto.
DALALA	1883	Peace made between Maasai and Kwavi at Ilorra. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lmapia and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
[illegible]	1898	Civil war between Lmapia and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parit promoted to this age, though actually Dareto.

12: Fun G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII-XV.]

By D. Stuart Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-208) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njampa and Ngurumani, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which they drive. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ee-gwesi e-e-sarag-ap*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 321.)

18: Merker--II C-5 (1893-ca.1968) 1910 FLIS Manal FLIS

/Pages i-iv are title and dedication pages./

/v/ Foreword to the First Edition

121 Advancing culture is more and more rapidly shaping and polishing the customs of the so-called savage peoples. What it takes hold of first and smooths over most thoroughly is precisely what is peculiar to the savage, in which his doings, his thoughts and feelings are most clearly reflected. This is particularly true of those primitive peoples whose customs and views stand in sharp contrast with our principles of civilization and who must start a whole new life if they do not wish to perish. This, of
• [181] course, applies above all to the nomadic peoples, and especially to the militarily disposed among them, such as the Masai. Thus there is ever more urgently approaching us Europeans who live among these peoples the task of completing and perfecting our knowledge about them before it is too late.

Besides this scientific goal, the investigation of the natives of our colonies also pursues a practical purpose. The times during which we forced recognition of German rule with weapons and had to lead the natives, who, through their almost uninterrupted expeditions of war and raiding against one another, devastated the land and reduced the population, to peace by force are almost over. In serious pacifying work they must now be educated toward what, for their own advantages and those of their country, they are to become. Where and how the educator must work, enlightening and advising, to attain this goal, a knowledge of the thoughts and feelings, of the character and customs of the people, will teach him.

In the present study I am presenting only what I was able to
124 establish with certainty. In gathering these contents I observed the principle of letting the people talk freely and only then asking direct questions, when it was a matter of checking the accuracy of what had already been noted. I am convinced that only this procedure -- albeit very time-consuming and hence for the traveling investigator often enough impossible -- can produce results that are uninfluenced by the thinking of the European

M /N conn./
192 so that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oloib-
101 Mimni and ol oloib-Wakuafi. El oibat (sing. ol oibatani) means
killer, rough, brutal person, and is an invective with which the
Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Mimni blackmiths (ol kamoti) desig-
nate their oppressor, the Mimni. Fischer mistakenly translates the
word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be oolimi ol
ngáre / ol ngá.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
419 sedentary cultivators. Whenever they found peaceful neighbors after
189 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
• 181 they remained in close contact with the Mimni and were exposed
to their constant raids, the old belligerenity remained in them. As
examples of this is the population of Ravnsberg /Mt. Mimni/ in the
M Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo,
they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M imperiousness, capacity, and cunning equal that of the Mimni in
[448] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numer-
ous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal
them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Mimni
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow villag-
829 ers, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[281] each other, for the Mimni cannot do without them as suppliers of
[336] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[334] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at
all among the Aasi. Most of them, just like the El oiti, timidly
and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little
grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths.
Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows
and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they
obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where
they dwell in the vicinity of the Mimni, they live in a certain

/1 copy/
dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppe certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandorobo roaming about everywhere. /12/ Their betrayal soon comes to full victim to the game-hungry Masai. Though their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of daughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandorobo, as he sees, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow citizenses to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandorobo, as well as El kumbua and El meli, admission into their community.

In recent times these Masai who, after the law of their livestock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small bands in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El donkio, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Ana, El meli, El gaserok. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot admire on them, they also cultivate maize, beans, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

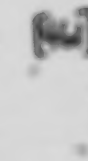
The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppe dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandorobo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of individual tongues surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

[illegible]
the wives of the Northeastlie. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Ideni women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Ideni themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the mulomery neighboring tribes.

107.

000 Character. — National pride. — Disrespect for foreigners. — Designation of foreigners. — The Ideni in the service of the Europeans. — Attitude of the Ideni living among his people toward the Europeans. — The Ideni toward their land. — Simplicity — Position of the woman. — How the Negro illustrates the character of the Ideni. — Expression of emotions and other gestures. — Strength of vision. — Art sense. — Color sense. — Orientation ability. — Song. — Ideni of beauty of the human body.

196 The main surrounding rock to the character of the Ideni is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Ideni are subject to the Ideni people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the mulomery Negroes, who are not familiar with Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wear their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Ideni as for his children, they need not work "ni dzhiga nabi nibi" - work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Ideni take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Ideni, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by Ng ai for the Ideni.



196 In general the Ideni designates all non-Ideni as ni nya, lying, ni nyaŋ, a term that is to be translated as "subhuman." /111/ The Ideni does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

[illegible]

[illegible] adventurers, every trick, every deception is perceived against them. In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes socially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the [illegible] derived or transformed from the Kikuyuish. Finally, he calls the Negroes el kulee (Ung. el kuleeish), which is to be translated approximately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Wanikuni with which most the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often quite haughtiness and bearing appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically fawning, grovelling submission of the Negroes.

A certain distinction is really set to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that he kills only the threatening weapon — spear and sword — to regarded as worthy of a Negro. He has a profound contempt for the Negro tools shooting with poisoned arrows cowardlessly from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Troops in the process of deep decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also considers the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Protectorate Troops. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his throwing weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the silliest way.

/LII case/

As a servant of Kampenes the latest to general down the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (3).

> 1. I became acquainted with people of two different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the homo-imputans, conceited, and thievish niggardly of the coast.

There is just as little domestic servant faithfulness and dependability as there is reverence and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the latest herdsmen drove off milk from the cows and kissed from the cows and cattle for from the calls of sheep. One time the herdsmen came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and announced that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be allowed, and I entrusted myself /LII/ with ordering the herdsmen to stay closer to the cattle with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- assembly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the despot was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had been disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safekeeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of five select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of blacks in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

[illegible]

/116 cont./

179 181 609 829

his end discovered to his sorrow that the cows had vanished away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 150 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unexpectedly received all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples/instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick. When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven in anew, the native herdowners -- both blacks and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of his watering place. In the pens and lanes of the livestock for the whites, there run into the herd of the Europeans, so unnoticed, a few head of the cattle of the Blacks, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the storage herd again, marches off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

179 181 484 609 829

When the black servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If no opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who live themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

179 181 609 829

The black living in the tribe is and remains scientific of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /116/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, reacts with profound indignation: "A black does not do anything like

1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanour or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy kimeri about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It can surely not a kimeri. A kimeri would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the kimeri.

It might be very hard better, to accuse an el mbiri just as unbelievingly as he whatever a fellow villagers! (2)

3. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the inferiority and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other kimeri, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad conscience that the former experience from the latter have had an inferiority of character to the result of the ostracism.

The mental superiority of the Europeans expresses him only in such cases where it has conveyed him of some military, while his technical skills rank for too much of the despised "el kimeri" to the kimeri to mean worth notice. It is solely the gun of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the kimeri and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the kimeri in intercourse with his own kind. Indeed all good ridge el kimeri * make a good mouth toward the kimeri, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow villagers.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/ [illegible]

grass widows and children to care. It is not out of compassion, but policy in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the latter do not keep well. In general one cannot attribute to them a loving relationship toward their own kind. The latter only to just possess the courage enclosed to him. Their extraordinary superiority often makes them appear more courageous than they really are. Their necessity equals that of most fair children alike. The wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class [both at home and at will] of her husband and mature her. It is obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the pre-vailing polygamy, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the latter have that he needs for household and livestock management and the ocean of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her reverence depends on how she measures up to these tasks. Whatever feelings are not uncommon, but rough treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men toiling about lastly, the women are busy all day long. For the married women there are scarcely any convenience except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior house. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one does not know. As soon, however, as she is complained from her own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willingness to work immediately ceases to an end. The low opinion of her new position is, the lesser end of the more time more interesting she becomes. She naturally regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often becomes unmeasurably. /[illegible]/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes low to the point of disappearing and her passion for ornament grows. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the herd and despised at [illegible] as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/130 cont./

201 152 In consequence the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression on the face.

201 152 699 181 The children may often press his lips together tightly. In lying, especially in self-excited lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a well-played /130/ wonder and the absence of any trace of countenance of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as though over an unjust suspicion. The latest dance has a great talent for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the declaimed African races. Even when he was himself convicted and has gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the behavior just described. Since rarely his look gradually becomes uncertain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes husky and uncertain hoarse and his facial expression says approximately: "Now nothing more will help!"

(149)

201 152 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt. Men rarely employ them, but commonly among women, the same feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

(149) An extreme degree of fear is shown by a trembling of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move centrally toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

(321) Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

[illegible]

/[illegible] community. Rather, I should call their behavior extremely rational and mention in its connection that the Ainoi, extraordinarily rich above preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, impose upon himself also moderation in sexual enjoyment.

An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization. It can make a small people superior to a large, less well organized one, and have has given the Ainoi a position of power over the Negroes. A well organized people of the steppe nations on earth grows to little inside by quiet consumption. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. The nation itself has been forcefully above all, since it /[illegible] devours great masses of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set [illegible] Ainoi, they fell of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the nineties -- to cite one example, several thousand Ainoi warriors set out against Ungavarest. They had committed a few hours to the west of Wendeng /[illegible] Ainoi/ and had as a guide an Ungavarest man by the name of Engleija, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Engleija betrayed it to his countrymen. The Ainoi were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such wars killing expeditions of war are by no means outliers rather they were constantly in the history of the Ainoi. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

With regard to the harm that Gromov's epidemics (3)

1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1898 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and cholerjust, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military victims.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Basset have been a key factor in the [illegible] and history, survival of the prehistoric grassland ecosystem of Western Scotland. Through their flesh and livestock they are also one of the principal components of the ecosystem. Although there are extensive writings on the Basset there have been very few intensive studies. Most writings are the observations of government officers assigned to Scotland on [illegible] assignments. The general outline of Basset history appears fairly well known, but we found many conflicting ideas and completely [illegible] precise information on these interesting people at present. Visiting archaeologists and sociologists have given us detailed and specific descriptions of Basset land use and ways of life. These descriptions often conflicted with one another and often were totally at variance with the conditions we had observed living near the Basset for over two years. It appears to us that there are two basic reasons for this situation.

In the first place, most people who deal with the Basset become strongly partisan about them. There is something of the Lawrencesque "Noble Bedouin" there about the Basset. They were and are warriors (Fig. 3)

[illegible] CONTINUED ON PAGE 971

and across the country they varied most of their efforts. To a large degree they have maintained their own form way of life and they haughtily refuse to accept the churches and other trappings of western life. To people coming from crowded and unpleasant countries there is a desire to retire and stay in the desert. So the term extends from this observation to those in East Africa as Desert-Side.

On the other hand, some administrators who work most with the desert tend fluctuating at best their often complete disregard and rejection of foreign ideas. Most of these concerned with land use and management of East Africa's natural resources see the desert, like the Arab, as the father of the desert and not its son. The strong feelings between those with "desert-side" and those with "semi-desert-side" are sometimes reflected in their reports and publications.

The other factor contributing to confusion about the desert is the general tendency to regard them as one unified group. Actually there are a number of separate cultures of the desert, some of them pastoral, some agricultural, and some in-between. There are very significant differences in customs involving land use even even between neighboring groups of pastoral desert.

[illegible] by many of the Manel involved. Few of these who made the move are still living, but the memory of [illegible] is kept alive by the Manel descendants. The Manel in Kasapa's Western Province and, as are described here, those who made the move most lately. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Manel, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Mukwanka (1968:111), an admirer of the Manel, ascribes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Manel to their hardships from famine, pestilence, civil war, and German administration in this day:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through unbelievable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has developed empathy for a generation, such preparation is of great value, at least sentimentally. The Manel of Tanganyika have their virtues, their deep pride and their tribal ways, and tragedy by state can achieve have once again acquired them. It is suggested that their extreme conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

During the German period the Manel were largely excluded from the German operations in Tanganyika, although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1888 and 1889, according to Grant (1967), there was one Manel encampment at survivor's barracks

19 Talbot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL12 Wood FL12

[illegible] Dentsic. Many Wood in the area speak some Dentsic, as many Dentsic and a limited number of Wood speak an usually could converse with Wood throughout the study area. Occasionally we had the services of interpreters.

[illegible] These Wood prepared visitors to their country with interest and guarded suspicion. The suspicion is greatest if they believe the visitors are representatives of the Government. After we had lived or talked in Bellevue Woodland for some months constantly moving from place to place the Wood appeared to accept us as a harmless, control, and occasionally bewildering phenomenon.

Our status with them was helped by our work with grass and animals. Above all else the Wood appear concerned with animal husbandry. They have a lively interest in wild animals, appreciation for domestic livestock that is almost reverence, and an understanding of the importance of grass. Our work on these things therefore seemed understandable. Beyond the frequent initial query: were we with the Government, there was never any question of why we were working there. The Wood appear to accept without question that white men are prone to the strangest behavior. Movie companies and some tourists fortify this conviction.

ID: Dallas E-4.9 (1956-1962)1964 FL:12 Maasai FL:12

CON

was for Tanganyika.

SAU
CEI

Old Age Grades: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the basis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significance as to dating past events (Beidelman, 1964).

SAU
CEI

Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1890's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

FST
LIV
SEI
SAI
TRI

Until the early years the primary duties of a boy are tending livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumcised is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

233 232 Hamburg, Germany, but I do not have the reference available. The experiment was outlined by Payne (1961) and part of the results presented by Livingston, Payne and Friend (1962).

If the Masai were indeed good animal husbandmen, it is surprising that they have not discovered this fact in the 400 or more years they have been herding cattle in East Africa. The fact that they apparently 233 232 have not is probably due to their intense conservatism, particularly as it affects their cattle. Evidence such as this points to the deep seated conservatism that antecedes their periods of stress in the end of the last century, to which Fosbrooke (1948) and others have credited present Masai conservatism.

233 Water supercedes all other considerations in Masai grazing management. In periods of extreme drought the Masai will take their cattle into areas infested with tsetse fly if water is there, preferring to accept some mortality from disease than greater mortality from thirst. The same consideration governs their moving stock into areas where the grazing rights belong to other groups or tribes, or into areas where the danger of wild predators is greatest.

232 Disease: Disease periodically decimated Masai livestock even before the introduction of rinderpest.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For